

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1801

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (CARTER, JIMMY) NATO, PFOR, NAC
SUBJECT: THE NATO SUMMIT: THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION

SUMMARY: TO ASSIST IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE NATO SUMMIT, WE
DESCRIBE BELOW TRENDS IN THE ALLIANCE, THEMES
THE PRESIDENT MIGHT WISH TO HIGHLIGHT IN HIS STATEMENT TO
ALLIED LEADERS, AND PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS RELEVANT TO
THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION IN THE COUNCIL MEETING.
END SUMMARY.

1. THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH ALLIED LEADERS, IN THE
NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL MEETING IN LONDON ON MAY 10, WILL TAKE
PLACE AGAINST A BACKGROUND OF EXTREME FRAGILITY IN MOST
WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS. EUROPE'S ECONOMIC MALAISE COMPOUNDS
THE PROBLEMS OF ACCOMMODATING TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES TO SOCIAL
CHANGE IN THE SOUTH AND OF MEETING POPULAR
DEMANDS ON THE DEVELOPED WELFARE STATES IN THE NORTH. FLAGGING
ECONOMIES PLACE INCREASING STRAINS ON DEFENSIVE
EFFORTS, RAISING THE PROSPECT THAT FUTURE
REDUCTIONS MAY INCREASINGLY CUT INTO ALLIED MILITARY MUSCLE.

2. PARADOXICALLY, THE CHALLENGES POSED BY THE
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BROADER POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CURRENTS, TO WHICH THE
NATO STRUCTURE IS MARGINAL, ARE COINCIDENTAL WITH A
PERIOD OF DEMOCRATIC FERMENT IN THE WEST, WHEN THE
LIBERAL TRADITIONS AND THE POSSIBILITIES FOR SOCIAL
EVOLUTION THROUGH FREEDOM HAVE BEEN VIGOROUSLY
REAFFIRMED. ALL WESTERN EUROPE -- AND THE
ALLIANCE FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE ITS FOUNDATION --
IS DEMOCRATIC FROM THE BARENTS SEA TO THE
MEDITERRANEAN. THE ONLY DICTATORSHIPS IN EUROPE ARE
THOSE BASED ON LENINIST PRINCIPLES. THE ALLIANCE

CAN THUS DRAW STRENGTH FROM THE SOVEREIGNTY OF ITS PEOPLES DESPITE THE CURRENT DIFFICULTIES OF MANY OF ITS COMPONENT GOVERNMENTS.

3. THE BELGRADE CONFERENCES THAT WILL BEGIN IN JUNE, COUPLED WITH THE ASSERTION BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PRIMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, CAN HELP ILLUSTRATE TO WESTERN EUROPEANS THEIR REAL STAKE IN THE DEFENSE OF THEIR FREEDOMS. BUT AN AFFIRMATION OF WESTERN PURPOSES AND US LEADERSHIP IS REQUIRED IN THE FACE OF AN ADVERSARY THAT IS DEVELOPING ITS MILITARY FORCES TO LEVELS THAT COULD EVENTUALLY LEAD TO A QUESTIONING IN THE WEST REGARDING NATO'S ABILITY TO MAINTAIN THE BALANCE AND RESIST SOVIET PRESSURE.

4. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE PRESIDENT'S MEETING WITH THE COUNCIL PROVIDES AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT TO WESTERN EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS, AND THEIR PEOPLES, THE PRESIDENT'S AGENDA FOR ALLIANCE EFFORTS IN COMING YEARS. HIS PARTICIPATION, AND THE STATEMENT HE MAKES, SHOULD THUS BE DIRECTED NOT ONLY TO THE ALLIED LEASERS IN THE COUNCIL SESSION AT LONDON, BUT ALSO, AND PERHAPS PRIMARILY, TO THE BROADER EUROPEAN PUBLIC AND MEDIA THAT WILL BE EAGER TO LEARN THE PRESIDENT'S VIEWS ON NATO. CENTRAL THEMES THAT SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED BY THE PRESIDENT ARE:
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ABOVE ALL, CONFIDENCE THAT THROUGH THE DYNAMIC DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, WHOSE FREEDOMS NATO WAS FORMED TO PROTECT, THE ALLIES CAN BY COLLECTIVE EFFORTS MEET THE CHALLENGES THAT FACE THEM. THE TONE, WE BELIEVE, SHOULD BE OPTIMISTIC, CONVEYING A SPIRIT OF AMERICAN STRENGTH, DYNAMISM, AND LEADERSHIP, ATTUNED TO THE CONCERNS AND ASPIRATIONS OF EUROPEAN PEOPLES.

A FIRM, STRAIGHTFORWARD ASSERTION OF THE PRESIDENT'S CONVICTIONS REGARDING HUMAN RIGHTS, IN A PRESENTATION THAT RELATES THESE CONVICTIONS TO BROADER WESTERN POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS. THE MESSAGE, HERE, SHOULD BE THAT WESTERN ASPIRATIONS TO FREEDOM, TRUTH, AND EQUITY FROM THE BEDROCK ON WHICH ALLIED SOLIDARITY RESTS, AND THAT THE EXTERNAL CHALLENGE TO THE FREEDOM OF ALLIED PEOPLES IDENTIFIES POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES AND PROVIDES THE RATIONALE FOR ALLIED DEFENSIVE EFFORTS.

THE CONTINUING COMMITMENT BY THE UNITED STATES TO THE DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE AND WILLINGNESS TO DO ITS PART IN MAINTAINING

THOSE LEVELS OF FORCES AND READINESS REQUISITE
TO GUARANTEE THE SECURITY OF ALL THE ALLIES
AND THE POWER BALANCE IN EUROPE. A US DETERMINATION TO PURSUE THESE
OBJECTIVES THROUGH RATIONAL, COHERENT
DEFENSE PLANNING PROGRAMS THAT WILL ALLOW
US, IN THE CLOSEST COOPERATION WITH OUR
ALLIES, TO DERIVE THE MAXIMUM DEFENSIVE
BENEFITS FROM THE RESOURCES THAT OUR
SOCIETIES DEVOTE TO THIS PURPOSE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1801

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A WILLINGNESS, AND INDEED EAGERNESS, TO
PROMOTE THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE EAST
SOUND ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS THAT WILL
INCREASE CONFIDENCE, CONTRIBUTE TO
STABILITY, AND REDUCE CONFRONTATION, AND
LIMIT THE ACCUMULATION OF ARMAMENTS,
STRATEGIC AND CONVENTIONAL.

FINALLY, TO GIVE THE ALLIES A
SENSE THAT THEY ARE FULL AND ACTIVE
PARTICIPANTS WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE
PROMOTION OF DETENTE AND THAT THE
PRESIDENT IS ANXIOUS TO CONSULT WITH THEM
ON THE BROAD RANGE OF PROBLEMS CONFRONTING
WESTERN SOCIETIES TO CONSIDER THEIR IDEAS,
TO BE SENSITIVE TO THEIR CONCERNS, AND TO
BENEFIT FROM THEIR EXPERIENCE. HE SHOULD
EMPHASIZE THAT CONSULTATION LIES AT THE
HEART OF THE ALLIANCE.

5. IN ADDITION TO SUCH MAJOR THEMES, THE ALLIES WILL
BE ANXIOUS TO HEAR DIRECTLY FROM THE PRESIDENT HIS

VIEWS ON:
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CENTRAL ALLIED OBJECTIVES AT THE BELGRADE MEETINGS;
THE BROAD LINES OF US POLICY ON SALT;
THE DIRECTION OF US THINKING ON MBFR;
A BRIEF APPRAISAL OF THE SITUATION IN
AFRICA AND THE MIDDLE EAST;
A GENERAL ASSESSMENT OF SOVIET OBJECTIVES;
A REFERENCE TO THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES
THAT MUST BE FACED.

6. THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT WILL BE CAREFULLY
STUDIES FOR HINTS REGARDING THE ADMINISTRATION'S VIEWS ON:

THE IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ALLIANCE OF THE
PARTICIPATION OF COMMUNISTS IN WESTERN GOVERNMENTS;
THE PRIORITY OF WESTERN DEFENSE IN FUTURE US
DEFENSE BUDGETS;
THE US RESPONSE TO ANY SOVIET EFFORTS TO
GAIN UNILATERAL ADVANTAGE BY CAPITALIZING ON
CONFLICT IN AREAS PERIPHERAL TO THE ALLIANCE;
THE EVOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES; AND
THE FRAMEWORK FOR TRANS-ATLANTIC DIALOGUE.

7. AS TO THE FORMAT OF THE SUMMIT MEETING, WE WOULD
ANTICIPATE THAT THE ALLIES WILL LOOK TO THE PRESIDENT
TO SPEAK FIRST AT THE MEETING, FOLLOWING SECRETARY GENERAL
LUNS' OPENING REMARKS, AND THAT ALLIED LEADERS WILL
WISH TO FOLLOW WITH BRIEF STATEMENTS OF THEIR OWN,
AND PERHAPS TO ASK A FEW QUESTIONS OF THE
PRESIDENT ON BROAD POLICY ISSUES.

8. WHILE PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL, THE MEETING WILL
INEVITABLY TURN ITS FACE TOWARD THE BROADER PUBLIC,
WITH PRESS CONFERENCES, AND DEBRIEFINGS IMMEDIATELY
FOLLOWING THE SESSION. ACCORDINGLY, WE RECOMMEND
THAT PLANNING FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PARTICIPATION CONCENTRATE ON
THE PUBLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVENT AND
THAT THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT BE DESIGNED FOR
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PUBLIC RELEASE AS A MAJOR NEWS ITEM FOR MAY 10
EUROPEAN PRESS. OUR FURTHER VIEWS ON THESE ASPECTS WILL
FOLLOW. FINALLY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT DEVELOPMENTS SUCH AS
THE RESULTS OF THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW WILL NEED TO
BE FACTORED IN, BUT WE WANTED TO PROVIDE OUR SUGGESTIONS EARLY
IN THE DRAFTING PROCESS. STRAUSS-HUPE

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